

JULY 31, 1951
675th BROADCAST

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Can Asia Be Saved from Communist Imperialism?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

RAMMANOHAR LOHIA HARLAN CLEVELAND
GEORGE PAIK



THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

on

“What’s Wrong With British-American
Relations?”

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N. Y.

VOLUME 17, NUMBER 14



\$5.00 A YEAR; 15c A COPY



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VOL. 17

No. 14



Can Asia Be Saved from Communist Imperialism?

The Broadcast of July 31, 1951, from 9:00 to 9:45 p. m., EDT, over the American Broadcasting Company Network, originated from Civic Auditorium, San Francisco, California, under auspices of the Committee for a Free Asia and the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The account of the meeting reported in this Bulletin was transcribed from recordings made of the actual broadcast and represents the exact content of the meeting as nearly as such mechanism permits. The publishers and printer are not responsible for the statements of the speakers or the points of views presented.

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

DR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA—Peasant Leader and Foreign Policy Chairman of the Socialist Party in India. Dr. Lohia, who received his Ph. D. at the University of Berlin, is chief architect of the "Gandhian Socialism" emerging in his party. Dr. Lohia was an associate of Nehru during the independence struggle, and was asked by the Prime Minister to become Secretary-General of the Congress Party. Instead he chose to begin building an opposition and became the first chairman of the Hind Kisan Panchayat, the Indian Peasant Movement, when it was formally organized last year. Like almost all Indian leaders, he advocates the "Third Camp" in Indian foreign policy.

DR. GEORGE PAIK—Korean Minister of Education; visiting lecturer, Department of History at the University of California at Berkeley. Dr. Paik, who received his M. A. at Princeton University and his Ph. D. at Yale, became a professor of history at Chosun Christian College in Seoul in 1927. Following the defeat of Japan and the reopening of the university, Dr. Paik became president of the institution. A few years later, in 1950, he became Minister of Education in the Korean Cabinet. Until his present tour in the United States, Dr. Paik remained with the Korean government during the two evacuations of Seoul. In Taegu and Pusan, he was instrumental in re-establishing the Korean educational system on a wartime basis and keeping the schools open.

HARLAN CLEVELAND—Deputy to the Assistant Administrator for Program of E. C. A.; former Director of China Program of E. C. A. in Washington, 1948-49. Mr. Cleveland, one of the "pioneers" of the Marshall Plan, joined E. C. A. as a consultant on the China program in April, 1948. He was named Director of the Division of China Program a few months later, and served in that capacity until September, 1949, when he assumed his present post. A graduate of Princeton University, he has been associated with the United States Department of Agriculture, Board of Economic Warfare and Foreign Economic Administration. After serving as executive director of the Economic Section, and acting vice-president of the Allied Commission in Italy, he became deputy chief of the UNRRA Italian Mission.

Town Meeting is published weekly at 32 S. Fourth St., Columbus 15, Ohio, by The Town Hall, Inc., New York 18, New York. Send subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, New York 18, N.Y.

Subscription price, \$5.00 a year, (Canada, \$6.00); six months, \$3.00, (Canada, \$3.50); eight weeks, \$1.00, (Canada, \$1.20); 15c a single copy. Entered as second-class matter, May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Can Asia Be Saved from Communist Imperialism?

Announcer:

Tonight we invite you to join with 7,000 representative citizens of the San Francisco Bay Area, here in the Civic Auditorium in San Francisco, where we are the guests of the Committee for a Free Asia, and the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The newly organized Committee for a Free Asia, like the National Committee for a Free Europe, is an independent nongovernment organization supported largely by the funds raised by the Crusade for Freedom, to which most of you Americans contributed last year. Chairman of the Committee for a Free Asia is Brayton Wilbur of San Francisco; its President and executive head is George H. Greene, Jr., who is assisted by a staff which, like himself, has a record of experience and residence in Asian countries.

One of the important objectives of the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce is to stimulate and encourage participation by its members in community and world affairs, so, together these two organizations extend a cordial welcome to you, our listeners, and guest speakers, to the City by the Golden Gate!

Now to preside over our discussion, here is our moderator, the President of Town Hall, New York, and founder of "America's Town Meeting of the Air," George J. Denny, Jr.

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We are happy to be presenting tonight's Town Meeting under the auspices

of the Committee for a Free Asia and the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce. Both of these organizations are deeply concerned with the preservation of freedom here and throughout the world.

The purpose of the former is to establish channels of direct communications between the people of Asia and the people of the free world everywhere. And we hope that tonight's program, which is to be rebroadcast by the Voice of America, will be among the first of these communications.

The last time your Town Meeting originated in this great Civic Auditorium here in San Francisco, it was the second day of the San Francisco Conference on the United Nations, and 12,000 people packed this auditorium to hear a discussion of the question, "Can We Build a Lasting Peace Now?" Few of us realized that the freedom we sought to preserve then would be threatened by a gigantic imperialist power parading under the banner of communism, socialism, freedom, and democracy.

Tonight we have asked two representatives of the Asian people and an officer of our own ECA to discuss the question with us, "Can Asia Be Saved from Communist Imperialism?" The first is Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, foreign policy chairman of the Socialist Party in India and one of the outspoken critics of the Nehru government. He is now visiting America for the first time, and although he is a doctor, he prefers to be called "Mr.," or just Lohia. Lohia, welcome to America's Town Meeting of the Air.

Dr. Lohia:

Before the broadcast, Dr. Lohia requested that the publishers use his prepared speech in the Town Meeting Bulletin instead of the extemporaneous speech he delivered over the air. The following is the text of Dr. Lohia's prepared speech.

As a representative of the Asia of peaceful change, of socialism and democracy, I am confident that we shall defeat the Asia of chaos and communism equally with the Asia of status-quo and obstructive interests.

We reject the vicious doctrine that Asia will surrender its freedom if it does not obtain its bread—a doctrine which reduces freedom and democracy into a luxury of the full belly. We proclaim instead the faith that bread and free action are inseparable.

Communism can give as little bread to Asia as capitalism can give it freedom. Both are doctrines of centralization and mass production that shatter against the stone walls of a high density of population jutting upon an infernally low productive equipment.

The socialist parties of Asia are striving to involve a decentralized society, going beyond capitalism and communism, that will make possible government of the community, by the community, for the community. We will invent and develop small-unit machines so as to abolish poverty and attain a decent standard of living—but which will not awaken the erosive urge to an ever-increasing standard of living.

We seek to establish social ownership that will strive for a maximum attainable equality be-

tween man and man, and will secure bread through freedom and freedom through bread.

For the attainment of these aims, the Socialist Party of India makes use of the spade, which is our symbol for unpaid constructive activity; of the prison, which is our method of peaceful resistance to injustice; and of the vote, which embodies the electoral voice of the people.

In addition to welding ideologically the belt of the Third Camp that stretches from Indonesia to Egypt against infiltration, the socialist parties of this area are not averse to considering mutual assistance pacts and a multilateral Monroe Doctrine against conquest.

The Asia of peaceful change would like to tell the Atlantic world that the tasks of conservation with you, and of creation with us, now so sorely disjointed, must be joined together. Hunger and war are twin demons and no one can slay war who is not prepared to seek out hunger in all its abodes the wide world over and still it. A world economic development authority can alone conserve by helping to create.

The Atlantic peoples can best help the world and themselves and Asia by seeking to understand the new battle of ideas, by practicing powerful resistance against injustices that prevail within their own frontiers, by throwing their doors open to all who may want to come, by inventing and making available small-unit machines, by all-together reinforcing the climate for peaceful change.

All human history has hitherto been a shift of power and prosperity from one continent or region to another and a similar oscillation between class and castes. Should man's intelligence yet extract from

Atlantic's strife its activity and from Asia's sloth its poise, and, through community government and peaceful resistance and small-unit machines, wed activity to poise, man may yet end class and caste and continental shifts and his destiny may travel for the first time on earth towards peace within and action without.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Lohia.

Dr. George Paik, Minister of Education of the Republic of Korea, is presenting a series of lectures at the summer session of the University of California, here in Berkeley. He attended three American Universities—Missouri, Princeton, and Yale—before he joined the faculty of Chosun Christian College in Seoul, Korea. We are happy to welcome Dr. George Paik to America's Town Meeting of the Air.

Dr. Paik:

Asia *must* be saved from communist imperialism if the *world* is to be saved from it. As a representative of a country which has been the tragic battleground of this struggle, I am certain that Asia *can* be saved.

The people of Korea and other free Asiatic nations can pin their hopes of salvation from communism on only one thing—collective security through the United Nations. My people are now fighting shoulder to shoulder with the free West against communist imperialism.

Korea and her allies know the impossibility of neutrality. One who does not fight for democracy is against it. Non-commitment to the support of democracy weakens the cause of collective security and thereby supports communism.

But opposition on the battlefield and even military victory against the forces of communism are not enough. Those of us who are fighting for democracy have an even greater responsibility. Its practice as well as its principles must be made real to the peoples of free Asia.

Democracy must be aggressive; it must be more than the absence of communism. It must be taught by example; it must be practiced throughout the noncommunist world. Any lasting victory over communism must be won through practice of the principles of democracy.

Speaking for my own country, I know that this will be difficult. Korea, through no fault of its own, for the past year has been the battleground on which the fight for democracy against communism has been waged. Devastation of Korea has brought about the destruction of those very natural and industrial resources which are so greatly needed to combat communism.

We must have a positive rehabilitation program in Korea. In the war against communism in Asia, rebuilding the economic potential of war-devastated Korea will be as important as providing airplanes and guns have been.

Elsewhere in free Asia—in areas which have not yet become military battlegrounds—attention to the people's livelihood should be recognized as essential to creating the democratic force which can halt the advance of communism.

To answer the question that I was asked earlier, I regret to say that the peace terms reported in the press are *not* acceptable to the Korean people. The free world has already paid dearly in an

effort to defeat communism in Korea. If it insists on making a distinction between the people on the basis on whether they live above or below the 38th parallel, it will have to pay even more dearly later on.

My emphasis on the economic basis of democracy does not mean that I have overlooked its spiritual aspects. I cannot stress too much the necessity of encouraging the peoples of Asia and strengthening them in their struggle by making them aware of the common interest of all the free nations.

The project of the Committee for a Free Asia—"Radio Free Asia"—is but one of the many ways to stimulate them to build their morale. Every device known to the free world must be employed in our struggle against communist imperialism. Let every one of us remember that the battle is only half won when the shooting stops.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Paik.

Our next speaker also attended Princeton University, and took post-graduate work at Oxford before becoming an official of the Board of Economic Warfare in 1942. He was Chief of the UNRRA Mission to China and Director of the China Program for ECA from its inception. He is co-author of the recent publication, *Next Step in Asia*. He is currently Deputy Assistant Administrator for Programs of the ECA. We are happy to welcome to Town Meeting Mr. Harlan Cleveland.

Mr. Cleveland:

I should like to suggest as a basis for this discussion four big facts.

Fact Number One is that our Asian friends treasure their in-

dependence. From Korea all the way around to the Middle East, the map is dominated by countries that have just won their freedom from colonial masters. They don't want any masters back—in any form.

And many leaders of Free Asia are more and more aware that the real threat to their independence comes not from domination by the West, but from the new-style, Soviet imperialism-for-keeps, which is pressing down on them from the North.

Fact Number Two. Our Asian friends want a rising standard of living. We can understand that. So do we. But surprisingly, this "revolution of rising expectations" is a *new* fact in Asia. People have lived there in squalor and wretchedness—for many long centuries without worrying and fighting about a rising standard of living.

But seeing is believing. Just think of the revolutionary effect in Asia of the American GI—a walking advertisement for a higher standard of living. Watching us, the people of Asia see proof that by using modern science and technology, people can keep producing more and more and so live better and better.

Fact Number Three is unfortunately all too obvious. The Soviets and their satellite stooges are trying to turn to their own purposes this revolutionary ferment that we helped to start. Using a standard kit of burglar's tools marked "internal subversion"—the most important tools of which are the big lie and the glittering promises—the communist thieves of freedom are trying systematically to exploit the people's misery and the inexperience

of newly independent governments, and so to take over each country from within.

But Fact Number Four is that we—you and I—can do something about all this. Dr. Lohia has spoken of peaceful change; Dr. Paik has talked about the reconstruction job that lies ahead in Korea. We, the people of the free world, not the communists, have the wherewithal, the physical wherewithal, to do something about Asia's rising expectations. We can help the peoples of Asia substitute the steel plow for the wooden stick, stamp out malaria, build roads and schools. We can help them find the technical knowledge and machinery they need to develop their great resources for their benefit.

We are interested only in helping Asians get more production, with fair shares for all—recognizing that adopting these goals will and should mean change and reform. That is why the Economic Cooperation Administration, the ECA, has now started economic aid programs in all the countries of Southeast Asia—strange business for us to be in, which started as the Marshall Plan Agency for Europe. That is why the Point Four idea, technical help for economic development, is such a vital force in Asia.

One example: Less than three years ago the ECA started working in Formosa through a Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, with a program of land reform and technical improvements in agriculture and small industry. All of these things were started together at the same time, as part of a single program. Today, Formosa is producing more rice than ever in its history, and, pay-

ing much lower rents, the island's farmers are getting a larger share of a larger pie. So, the peasants of Formosa have given the Communists the cold shoulder.

Measured against the cost of rearmament, the cost of delivering the advice and assistance necessary to this kind of purpose is not large. The Administration is now asking Congress for less than \$500 million for technical and economic aid to the whole of Free Asia, something like one quarter of the human race. Yet our investment in the future of Free Asia may prove to be the greatest bargain of the twentieth century.

"Can Asia be saved from Communist Imperialism." Of course it can—by the Asians with our help, and at a cost to the free world that is within its means. But we will only succeed if we are skillful, patient, understanding,—and, above all, if we keep at the job year after year.

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Harlan Cleveland.

Now while the members of our audience continue to get ready for the question period, we'll have a little discussion among our speakers up here. Dr. Lohia, we haven't heard from you for a while since these two speakers made their comments. Would you like to comment or ask them questions before we take the questions from this audience?

Dr. Lohia: As I sat listening to Mr. Cleveland, I was again reminded of the fact that some of us have very good intentions but are likely to commit mistakes about how to carry them out.

Is the relationship between Asia and America that of a one-

way traffic or a two-way traffic? If you think of it as a one-way traffic, America pouring help into Asia, I would remind you, as someone in the hall pointed out, of what some Senator or other said, that we should not pour any more money into this Asian drain.

I'm rather irreverent about all kinds of senators, whether they are American or Indian, and I should like to point out that, if money is poured by America into Asia, that is not in order to save Asia, but to save America herself.

As I stood in New York, about one or two o'clock in the night, and looked at the sky line, for the first time I felt how frightening a war could be. It would destroy. And I suppose most of you here are filled with feelings of fear about what the next war might bring to you. And if this war is to be prevented, the only way to do so is to permit and enable the two-thirds of the world to create what they need, because without that you cannot conserve what you have already created. *(Applause)*

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Dr. Lohia, that's an excellent rebuttal. I suppose that was in the form of a question for Harlan Cleveland.

Mr. Cleveland: I'll select out of that eloquent tirade one small piece and call that the question. As I understand it, Dr. Lohia is saying that Asians want an adequate standard of living—they don't want a rising standard of living. I would remind Dr. Lohia that the way to get an adequate standard of living and a dynamic society—and the Asiatic society is fast becoming even more dynamic than our own—is by constantly increasing productivity more and

more, so that people can live better and better.

It's not enough to stagnate at a low level. It's not enough to stagnate at an intermediate level. The answer to the Asiatic problem, as it is to the European problem and our own, is ever-increasing productivity so that each person produces more and gets more, therefore, of a constantly increasing income pie.

Dr. Paik: If democracy does not become aggressive, I fear that democracy defeats its own purpose. Most of the democratic peoples say, "Let the Asians people make their own choice," while the communists make a very aggressive approach upon the Asian people! I feel that democracy must be aggressive, and carry out a policy in such a way that the Asian people are attracted to the practice of the principles of the democracy in the West.

I would like to ask the American people here, "Would you adopt an aggressive policy of democratic principles, or would you prefer a laissez-faire attitude—let the Asians choose their choice," and let it go, while the communists are making such an aggressive approach on the Asian people?

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you, Dr. Paik. I think Lohia ought to comment on that question. How do you feel about Dr. Paik's point, Lohia?

Dr. Lohia: As to democracy, I certainly would like it to be as aggressive as possible, but democracy, in order to be aggressive—at least in Asia—means the end of feudal ownership, as also industrial and capitalist ownership. That is the only way to make democracy aggressive.

Mr. Cleveland has kidded me about an adequate standard of living. There is such a thing as a decent standard of living which will permit people to observe and fulfill standards of life, rather than become a slave to furniture and carpets as a standard of living. (*Applause*) This is precisely what I would like humanity to achieve. I have been abroad in Europe, and for the first time in the United States of America, but in Europe for a large number of years, and I have felt that the poor harassed housewife, who is all the time harassed trying to keep her house spick and span, and clean the furniture, as if the furniture existed, not for her, but she for the furniture. (*Applause*)

Is that the kind of life that we

should aspire to have? Not at all. But when I have said that, I do not mean that India or other parts of Asia will live in conditions of misery and poverty. The new machine is coming along. When I talk of the small-unit machines, I do not refer to your ancient museums, where kitchen utensils and like are hung from the ceiling. I refer to a technology that is yet to come—modern, ultra-modern technology—small-unit machines, the power loom, the pumping set, and such like, the small unit of production which does not require such heavy capital as you in your big factories have sunk through the year. We shall have our T.V.A.'s—we shall have a dozen of them, but the substantial thing shall be the small-unit machine.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now we will continue our discussion with a question from the head of San Francisco's Town Hall, Dr. Albert Rapaport.

Dr. Rapaport: Do the people of Asia themselves consider communism a threat to their freedom?

Mr. Denny: Well, I think that question ought to go to both Dr. Lohia and Dr. Paik.

Dr. Lohia: I consider communism as great a threat as capitalism and feudalism are, but I would like to point out again that in the background of human civilization consider Mr. Henry Ford and Mr. Joseph Stalin equally irrelevant because you have to go something beyond both. (*Laughter*)

Dr. Paik: Communism is a threat in Korea so we are fighting it.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Cleveland, would you care to comment on that question?

Mr. Cleveland: The Asian people are beginning to learn about this threat from the North, this Soviet imperialism. We were not so fast about it ourselves, and they haven't been. But I'm sure that they will find a day not very long from now when, if they don't realize it from the happenings of the day around them, the Russians will make it clearer and clearer and clearer to them, as they did in Korea.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Cleveland. The lady right here in the front row.

Lady: Dr. Lohia, does Asia feel that the United States is an im-

perialist country, and can this belief be corrected?

Dr. Lohia: I should like to remind the lady of what I said a little while ago about the American people. I like them, I love them, I admire them. And if the Government happens to be rather wicked, here or elsewhere, and I do not suggest for a moment that it is, that is quite another question.

Mr. Denny: Dr. Paik, would you care to comment on that question?

Dr. Paik: I'd like to have you define what you mean by imperialism. If you mean exploitation of the undeveloped country for your own benefit, I say that America is imperialistic. Should you help to develop the undeveloped country for the sake of the people of that country, it is not imperialism, it's coöperation.

Lady: Dr. Paik, is there a candidate available to replace Syngmann Rhee who would more accurately demonstrate United Nations principles?

Mr. Denny: That is like asking Mr. Ickes in 1944 if there was somebody to replace FDR, because Dr. Paik is the Minister of Education in Dr. Rhee's cabinet, but go ahead. Dr. Paik, you are free to say anything you like.

Dr. Paik: As Mr. Denny said, I am a member of Rhee's cabinet, and I support him, but it is up to the people of Korea to decide on his successor.

Lady: Mr. Cleveland, we are so efficient in every field—in advertising, industrial—why do we fail so miserably in combating communistic propaganda?

Mr. Cleveland: We're pretty efficient at doing the things we

know how to do. The things we know how to do are how to get more production, how to spread it around so that everybody gets a good piece of it. The best propaganda in Asia today is more production and more spreading around.

Man: This question is directed to Dr. Lohia. Are the present peoples of Asia advanced enough in this modern age and free from superstition to sustain a democratic form of government?

Dr. Lohia: If I were to enumerate superstitions that obtain in Europe and the U. S., you would be astonished how little fitted these peoples are for democracy.

Democracy is a virtue and an advantage which every people should have, no matter if they are superstitious or not. In fact, I should like to suggest that the more superstitious one is, the more democratic one ought to be, in order to overcome those superstitions. I concede that India for instance, is suffering from the singular vice of the caste system. We are trying to destroy it. But incidentally, I might also suggest that you are also suffering from this superstition of the caste system, and you might also want to destroy it. (*Applause*)

Man: Dr. Paik, do you think that the work of the Christian missionary can be one of the deciding factors in saving Asia from communist imperialism?

Dr. Paik: I do, because the very foundation of any struggle is spiritual power. And the missionaries are the ones who are giving this spiritual power for the new generation of the people. I think it is one of the dynamic powers

of the generation of the democratic cause in Asia.

Man: Dr. Lohia, does not the philosophy of passive resistance of India make that country an easy prey to the insidious tactics of communist imperialism?

Dr. Lohia: Passive resistance against injustice is existing within our frontiers. As to warfare between states, I acknowledge that as yet I have no non-violent answer, and if you had listened to my speech, I suggested that the belt of the Third Camp that stretches from Indonesia to Egypt should have a series of mutual assistance pacts in order to defend itself against conquest.

Man: Mr. Cleveland, equality of opportunity is the keystone of our democracy. A man can acquire enough capital through his labor to establish himself in industry. How is this part of democracy to be furthered in Asia?

Mr. Cleveland: I think there is no question but what in Asia during this initial period, particularly, most of the investment is going to have to be public, in one form or another. When people are at the margin of subsistence or far below the margin of subsistence, in many cases, they don't save much, they can't put away very much to invest; but over a period as the productivity of the people can be raised through public investment by their own governments—not only national governments but, Dr. Lohia, communal and state governments as well—plus some foreign public investment in a national bank, U. S. government, and so forth, the people can be expected to begin the process of pulling themselves up by their boot straps.

Man: This question is addressed to Dr. Paik. As an official of the Rhee Administration, do you believe that that government is a democracy, representative of the majority of the people of your country?

Dr. Paik: As far as I know, it is; because the people voted and assembled and constituted according to the principles of a democracy. And we try to administer government in such a way as best as we know how.

Lady: Dr. Lohia, do you think that a timely recognition of Red China by the United States and the United Nations might have averted war in Korea?

Dr. Lohia: I have, and my party has, always adopted the view that the government that exists in Red China should be recognized, but since the outbreak of the Korean War, issues got so badly mixed up with the Korean War, persons like me have been unable to adopt any position at all. Ours is an abstentionist position. With regard to issues in which both camps—the Atlantic and the Soviet camps—are involved, and no real force enters, my party adopts the abstentionist view.

Lady: Dr. Paik, did I understand you to say that capitalism would not help conditions in Asia? If so, how can the standard of living be raised?

Dr. Paik: I did not bring up the question of capitalism, but by this time, the name of capitalism has changed, and you go by some New Deals, and some other terms. But we have a better term to use—what we call the neo-capitalism, that is, the capitalism exercised for the benefit of the people, can

be used for the promotion of the welfare of the people.

Man: Mr. Lohia, do you believe that a socialist Asia would be able to resist the aggressive totalitarian imperialism of Stalin Russia, and how?

Dr. Lohia: Nothing else can. Only a socialist Asia can resist aggression of any type whatever. How shall it do it? By the will of the people—the determined will of the people, for we believe that these cannot be bought by paying the price of freedom. It can only be had if peoples are willing to pay the price of their lives, and socialist Asia realizes that fact.

Man: Mr. Cleveland, how does economic aid to such diverse and antagonistic groups as the Indonesians, the Dutch interest in the Netherlands, the Phillipines and the Japanese constitute rational answers to communism?

Mr. Cleveland: The peoples you have mentioned as well as many others besides are certainly di-

verse. But the one thing they are not diverse in is their desire for the advancement of their own society and their own economy. It's the purpose of ECA in the various countries in which it operates to assist countries to realize their own aspirations, and on that, the diversity among the countries doesn't interfere with the business at hand.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Cleveland, Dr. Lohia, Dr. Paik, and thanks also to our San Francisco hosts, George Greene, President, and Brayton Wilbur, Chairman, of the Committee for a Free Asia; Elmer Sampson, President and James Deasy, Arrangements Chairman, of the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce, and our associates at station KGO. This program has illustrated very clearly that we need to devote a great deal more time to the Asian question than we have time for tonight.

So plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell.

FOR FURTHER STUDY OF THIS WEEK'S TOPIC

Now that you have read the opinions of the speakers on the subject "Can Asia Be Saved From Communist Imperialism?" you may want to consider the following background questions before drawing your own conclusions.



1. Does Asia consider Communist imperialism a threat?
 - a. If so, does Asia want to be saved from it?
 - c. Can Asia save herself, or must the West help?
2. Is the Nehru program or the Socialist program in India better able to cope with Communism?
 - a. Can Communist imperialism be stopped better by a show of military strength or by improving the social conditions which breed Communism?
 - b. Or, are both strength and reform needed—one to combat external Communism, the other to combat internal Communism?
3. Can Asia remain neutral, or must it align itself with either the East or West?
4. Can Asia be saved from Communism if a more attractive alternative is not presented?
 - a. In our past attempts to save Asia from Communism, have we gone too far in the opposite direction by supporting unpopular governments which Asians consider reactionary and imperialistic?
 - b. Have we succeeded in making democracy attractive to Asia? Does Asia want democracy as we know it?
 - c. Do our information and education programs have an impact on Asia's masses, or are they on too high an intellectual level to compete with the aggressive, down-to-earth Communist propaganda?
5. Should we try to save all of free Asia from Communism, or only strategic areas?
 - a. If we hope to save all Asia, why did we not try to prevent Tibet's being taken over by Communist China?
 - b. If we are primarily interested in strategic areas, who is to determine which areas are "strategic"? Why was Korea not considered of strategic importance before last year?
6. Will the Korean truce be a victory or a defeat for Communist imperialism?
 - a. Do the cease-fire terms take into consideration the views of the Korean people?
7. Can some of the methods being used to save Europe from Communism be employed in Asia, for example, privately controlled short wave radio programs?
8. How can we best help Asia become strong enough to resist Communist imperialism?
 - a. Should a mutual defense pact, modeled on the North Atlantic Treaty, be enacted?
 - b. Should we send arms to Asia?
 - c. What has E. C. A. done in Asia? Should E. C. A. be extended to additional Asian countries?
 - d. What progress has been made in Asia under Point 4? What are the prospects for future assistance?

THE LISTENER TALKS BACK

Program of July 24, 1951

"WHAT'S WRONG WITH BRITISH-AMERICAN RELATIONS?"

Speakers

Stafford Barff

Sen. Francis Case



Each week we print as many significant comments on the preceding Tuesday's broadcast as space allows. You are invited to send in your opinions, pro and con, not later than Thursday following the program. It is understood that we may publish any letters or comments received.



BRITISH POLICY

Even though a vast majority of the American people disapprove of the Socialistic regime governing Great Britain today, it is impossible not to admire their intense loyalty to anything and everything British. The great pity is that . . . their theme seems to be the whole allied world first, and then America. . . . With the lone exception of Winston Churchill, I have yet to hear or read of a single English statesman giving credit or appreciation for the immense assistance they received from us. Without it they would still be close to the bottom of the ladder. Our sympathetic aid to the world is a matter of record. . . . We not only had to win their two world wars with our manpower and resources, but have to support the nations we liberated forever after. There should be a limit to what the American taxpayer can stand and still exist. . . . The stubborn attitude of the British (again excepting Churchill) concerning

Allied bases in Spain is ample evidence of their intense fear of Russia. They were quick to recognize Red China and defend their commerce with the U.S.S.R., but are woefully slow to realize that the Franco refusal to grant Hitler passage through Spain was all that saved them from being wiped off the globe. . . . Aid to Spain seems a small price to pay for what (she) can offer in return. The British alibi of the dictatorship rule of Franco in his persistent fight against Communism is absurd, while they loudly applaud the methods of Tito, an avowed Communist and ruthless dictator. Their own laxity in detecting Red infiltration in vital industries in England indicates their ignorance of the dangerous cancer flourishing in their nation, and leaves little room for their vitriolic abuse of our dealing with Spain. They surely realize what an important strategic spot it is in case of a global war, for Spanish manpower, mountains, and sea would be indis-

pensable to Western Europe in case of attack by Russia. . . . What a blessing if we could only learn to mind our own business, and like our forefathers avoid entangling alliances.—GENEVIEVE SMITH, Cincinnati, Ohio.

CHINESE RECOGNITION

Mr. Barff . . . made sorry work of . . . trying to excuse Britain for recognizing Red China for the simple reason that Britain's act was inexcusable. It was a base betrayal of a friend and an outrageous act of appeasement of an enemy, which could well wreck this country and postpone peace for many years. This stab in the back should not and cannot be forgotten. We have always felt

friendly to the British people and do not believe this hasty act on the part of the Labor government represents British sentiments as a whole.—I. C. VIOLET, Kansas City, Kansas.

PREJUDICE

My people have been Americans from long before the Revolution, but I cannot understand the prejudice against England, the only European nation with backbone enough to stand up against Hitler. People never complain about aid given to France or other nations that knuckled under or were our enemies, as Italy; (they) even want to embrace Fascist Spain.—MRS. E. W. WATSON, San Diego, California.

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